

Nova Impendet

HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XI

The Apostolic Letter of the Holy Father, published on the feast of the Guardian Angels, October 2, 1931. Translation supplied by the N. C. W. C. News Service.

VENERABLE BRETHREN:

A NEW plague menaces, indeed already afflicts, a great portion of the flock entrusted to Our care, striking more cruelly the less strong though the more strongly loved—the children, the humble, and less monied, the workers and the proletariat.

We refer to the grave pecuniary embarrassment, the financial crisis, which has descended upon every people and with steady and frightening progress is bringing unemployment to every land.

We see great multitudes of honorable, willing workers forced to idleness and reduced, with their families, to extreme indigence; workers who desire nothing better than to earn with the sweat of their brow, as the Divine Mandate teaches, the daily bread which they beg each morning of their Lord.

TOUCHED BY CHILDREN'S PLIGHT

Their cries of distress move Our paternal heart and make Us repeat with like tenderness the words which went forth from the most loving Heart of the Divine Master as He beheld the crowd faint with hunger: "*Misereor super turbam*," "I have compassion on the multitude."

With particular commiseration, however, are We moved to pity at the enormous number of children, most innocent victims of this sad state of affairs. "The little ones have asked for bread, and there was none to break it unto them." In the squalor of misery they are condemned to see fade from their lives the joy and the happiness which these ingenuous little souls seek to find about them.

Now winter approaches, and with it the long succession of suffering and privations which the cold season brings especially to the poor and to the helpless young.

ASKS CRUSADE OF CHARITY

Most serious of all, however, is this steady aggravation of the plague of unemployment to which We have made reference. The want of so many families and of their children, if not provided for, threatens to push them (which may God avert) to the point of exasperation.

Our fatherly heart has thought with trepidation on all of this, and as Our predecessors have done on similar occasions—in particular, Our immediate predecessor, Benedict XV of holy memory—We raise Our voice and address Our appeal to all who possess a sense of faith and of Christian love; an appeal for what may almost be termed a crusade of charity and relief.

Such a crusade, while it will provide assistance to the body, will give likewise comfort and aid to the soul, creating again a serene confidence, disencumbering the mind of those ugly thoughts which misery is accustomed to implant in men's bosoms. It will quench the flames of rancor and of the passions which rend men, and will awaken and sustain the fires of love and concord and the strong and noble bonds of individual and social peace and prosperity.

ALL MEMBERS OF GOD'S FAMILY

It is therefore to a crusade of mercy and love, and unquestionably of sacrifice as well, that We call all, sons of the one Father, members of the one and same great family, God's family, and hence all participants, as children in the same family, of the joy and prosperity and of the sorrow and adversity to which our brothers fall lot.

To this crusade We call all as to a sacred duty, a duty rooted in that commandment so distinctly peculiar to the evangelical law and proclaimed by Jesus Christ as His first and greatest commandment (indeed a compendium and synthesis of all the others) the commandment of charity.

It was this commandment to which Our predecessors of happy memory appealed repeatedly with like purpose in the days of hatreds and bitter war. We invoke this most beautiful of commandments now, not merely as the supreme and all-embracing duty according to Christian law, but rather as the high and sublime ideal of all souls which are generous-spirited and more finely keyed to nobleness and to Christian perfection.

ARMAMENTS CITED AS ONE CAUSE

We do not feel it necessary to insist on this with many words, for it seems so evident that this generosity of heart alone, this fervor alone of Christian souls with their holy impetus toward dedication and sacrifice for the salvation of their brethren, notably for those most needy and those exciting most compassion, as do the throngs of innocent children, will succeed in overcoming by force of unanimous concord the grave difficulties of the present hour.

And since the unbridled race for armaments is on the one hand the effect of the rivalry among nations and on the other the cause of the withdrawal of enormous sums from the public wealth and hence not the smallest of contributors to the current extraordinary crisis, We can not refrain from renewing on this subject the wise admonitions of Our predecessors which thus far have not been heard.

We exhort you all, Venerable Brethren, that with all the means at your disposal, both by preaching and by the press, you seek to illumine minds and open hearts on this matter, according to the solid dictates of right reason and of the Christian law.

The thought occurs to Us to propose that each of you act as the point of union for the charity and generosity of your faithful and the center of distribution for the relief offered by them.

PRAYER, PREACHING, THE PRESS

However, if in some dioceses it seems more opportune, We see no difficulty in giving the leadership to the respective pastors or to some charitable institution of proven efficiency or of your special confidence.

We have exhorted you to use all means at your disposal—prayer, preaching, the press—but We wish to be the first to call to your faithful, begging them in *visceribus Christi* to respond with generous charity to your appeal, following you in all that you propose after you have acquainted them with this Our Apostolic Letter.

Since, however, human force without Divine aid will never suffice to gain our purpose, let us lift on high fervent prayers to the Giver of every gift that in His infinite mercy He may shorten this period of tribulation.

In the name of all Our brothers who suffer let us re-

peat more fervently than ever the prayer which Christ Himself has taught us, "Give us this day our daily bread."

We counsel all to recall, for their encouragement and comfort, that the Divine Redeemer will count as done unto Himself whatever we may do for His poor (Matt. xxv, 40), and that, according to other of His consoling words, whosoever shall receive little ones in His Name has as much as received Him (Matt. xvii, 10).

The feast which the Church celebrates today, then, recalls, as if to give conclusion to Our exhortation, the touching words of Jesus, who, in the expression of St. John Chrysostom, after erecting impregnable walls for the protection of the souls of children added the warning, "See that you despise not one of these little ones; for I say to you that their angels in heaven always see the face of My Father, who is in heaven."

It will be these angels who, in heaven, will present to the Lord the acts of charity computed by generous hearts in aid of children. They likewise will obtain most copious blessings for those who have taken to heart this sacred cause.

Further, approaching as we are the feast of Christ the King, whose reign and whose peace We have sought to promote since the beginning of Our pontificate, it seems to Us very opportune to propose that, as preparation for it, solemn triduums be held in every parish church to implore God to spread abroad thoughts of peace and its gifts.

In augury of which We impart the Apostolic Benediction to you, Venerable Brethren, to all who will answer Our paternal appeal.

Justice and the Present Crisis

MOST REVEREND JOHN T. McNICHOLAS, O.P., D.D.

A radio address, broadcast over its entire network by the Columbia Chain, on Sunday, September 27.

WE are facing today a serious economic crisis, and perhaps even a more serious mental and moral crisis. Many pressing problems clamor for solution—problems arising from unemployment, from the financial depression, from the practical destitution of millions of our people, from the disturbance of domestic and world trade, from the mutual distrust of nations, from shaken confidence in the disinterestedness and resourcefulness of our leaders, and most of all from a rejection of Christian principles and an apostasy from God and His Christ.

Our land this year has been blessed by Divine Providence with abundant harvests, more than sufficient to sustain the whole nation; and yet we have the paradox of millions suffering from want of proper nourishment. Fear has come upon our people. There is a general uneasiness and apprehension. The poor, the laboring classes, and many who formerly lived in modest comfort are facing the third winter of idleness and privation in a spirit of hopelessness and growing resentment. Many thoughtful men, realizing the potential dangers of our present situation, sense an approaching crisis that may shake the very foundations of our social structure and effect a radical change in our industrial system.

UNDESERVED MISERY

There is, on the one hand, the undeserved misery of the poor and the working classes, constituting the overwhelming majority of our people, whose lives are spent, even in prosperous years, in a ceaseless struggle for mere existence. As the present crisis has revealed, a serious clogging of the wheels of industry reduces most of them almost immediately to a state of real poverty. For the most part they are unable to build up a reserve fund to meet such contingencies, and even where this might be possible, they lack disinter-

ested and trustworthy counselors who would help them so to organize their lives as to provide for future sickness, periods of unemployment, and old age.

JUDGMENTS WARPED BY WEALTH

There is, on the other hand, a comparatively small group possessing fabulous wealth and exercising the enormous influence that wealth confers not in the real interest of the masses but of their own privileged class. In this aristocracy of wealth too many seem to feel themselves set above the average of humanity. There is something in the mere possession of great wealth which tends to give men an entirely false outlook on life. It warps their judgment and too often renders them incapable of realizing the value and the essential dignity of every human being, regardless of race or color. The rich generally consider the disproportionate distribution of temporal goods which makes one man the possessor of millions and denies to another man the very food and shelter necessary to keep body and soul together as merely a consequence of the natural inequality of men and also of our present economic system, with which they are entirely satisfied.

LIMITATION OF WEALTH

A question deserving of serious study is the limitation of wealth. Would those possessing great wealth in our country today, if they expressed their real opinion, be willing to place any limitations whatever? Would they consent to such a division of the profits of industry as would make it impossible to acquire these fabulous fortunes? Would they advocate, or even approve of, such a graduated income tax as would place those limitations on wealth which Christian justice demands?

Considering the mystery of the inequality of God's gifts to men—that one is physically deformed and another a specimen of perfect manhood, that one is a genius and another has little intellectual power, that one is naturally gentle and lovable and another must fight against a thousand evil forces within him—it is not surprising that nature and God permit a mysterious distribution of temporal goods. The Catholic Church is not opposed to inequality of worldly possessions; she is not opposed to the wealthy as a class. No power on earth can change her position regarding the

right of private property, since it is a right possessed by what may be termed a secondary law of nature.

CHURCH RESISTS RADICALISM

She will fearlessly resist every attempt of radicalism to abolish private property. On the other hand, no power on earth can restrain the Church from condemning the monstrous injustice of the distribution of wealth today, due to the abuses of capitalism and to the injustice of our present economic system. Let us acknowledge very frankly that one of the crimes of our country is the concentration of inconceivable wealth in the hands of a comparatively small group.

The rich very generally fail to understand that they have certain obligations arising from justice and others from charity. Too often they confuse in their very benefactions self-glorification with Christian charity. Luxurious living blunts their spiritual perception, hardens their hearts, and makes them insensible to the basic fact that they belong to the great democracy of human nature in which every one has an eternal destiny.

A MENACING RUMBLE

Let us not blind ourselves to the fact that potential revolution is in the hungry masses. Deprived of the essentials of decent living according to our standards, which the dignity of their human nature demands, exposed on every side to the specious and vicious propaganda of Socialists and dangerous radicals, they cannot but contrast the hopelessness and insecurity of their lives with the sheltered and pleasure-seeking lives of the very rich.

There is at this moment a menacing rumble which is clearly heard by those who listen with attentive ears. Some refuse to recognize it, seeing in the present depression nothing more than a deferred consequence of the War, which has given the whole world something akin to nervous prostration. They call our attention to the increase in the number of savings accounts and to the unprecedented amount of money stored away in banks, and assure us of the certainty of an early return to normal prosperity. But they forget that a nation today, as in the past, may be destroyed in the hour of its greatest material prosperity.

Many are proposing, and will continue to propose, temporizing plans. No solution of our grave problems, however, can be found in any measure of mere expediency, but only in an application of the principles of Christian justice. Capitalism may not realize it, but it is on trial before the world today. It can reform itself only according to Christian justice. If it does not so reform itself, the end must be revolution and confiscation.

POPE IS QUOTED

I wish to lay special emphasis on the following quotation:

Unless serious attempts are made with all energy and without delay that a just share only of the fruits of production be permitted to accumulate in the hands of the wealthy and that ample sufficiency be supplied to the workingman, let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human society can be effectively defended against the forces of revolution.

These are not the utterances of a Socialist or of a revolutionary radical. They are words of solemn warning of Pope Pius XI to Capitalism to purify itself, to take in the future only a just profit on its investment, and to share the surplus with the laborers, so that they

may be enabled to bear the family burden with greater ease and security, being freed from hand-to-mouth uncertainty . . . be in a position to support life's changing fortunes and also to have the reassuring confidence that when their lives are ended some little provision will remain for those whom they leave behind.

Pius XI is not here speaking as a revolutionist, but as a Prophet, seeing clearly from the heights the evils of our economic system and the menacing forces now gathering.

JUSTICE DEFINED

Let us now dwell briefly on some considerations of justice as they apply to our present situation:

The term *justice* in its broadest sense, is all-comprehensive. It embraces all the virtues. In its strict sense, justice is a moral virtue, one of the cardinal virtues. The two main divisions of justice, in its strict sense, we classify as general and particular. The first is known as legal, or social, justice. The second is subdivided as distributive, commuta-

tive and corrective justice. We can touch upon justice today in its broadest sense only, restricting ourselves merely to some considerations of what is due God, and on the virtue of justice in its legal, or social, aspect.

Justice, in its broad sense, is that rectitude of our moral lives which governs our relations to God and our fellow men and controls our own actions. It is, in a word, holiness of life, and gives us the meaning of the words of Holy Scripture: "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice." It demands that due recognition be given Almighty God by all His creatures. As the Creator and Governor of all that exists, His universal government demands tribute of all nations and of all creatures. Just as it is manifest that all subordinate divisions of a government are subject to the supreme authority of the State, so all state and governments of the world are subordinate to the Supreme Sovereign of the nations. God's supreme dominion and man's entire subjection must be freely acknowledged. No man with the right use of reason can feel himself independent of and refuse to pay tribute to the omnipotent Governor of time and eternity. A sad fact today, however, is that the debt that all owe to Almighty God is not generally acknowledged.

AMERICA MUST GET ON KNEES

One of the first and most necessary correctives of our present unhappy condition is that America get on her knees, literally, to adore God, to proclaim Him the Supreme Governor of our country, the One on whom everything finally depends, from whom all authority is derived, from whose bounty we have received every gift, and without whom no efforts of man can avail. Let an appeal ring throughout the nation for prayer. Would that in every home of our land fervent prayers were offered up! Would that all men would bow down before Almighty God in humble supplication! Would that the efforts of all God-fearing men—and, thanks be to God, there are some in every walk of life—would be so directed as to bring about this union of prayer! And it must not be a Sunday prayer only, but a daily, a constant prayer. Would that in this hour of trial it could be truthfully said of us: "America is a praying nation." This would mean a social prayer that would give America one voice.

GOD DOES NOT NEED PRAYERS

God has a right to the tribute of our prayers of praise, of adoration, of thanksgiving, of supplication. God does not need us, nor does He need our prayers. But we need God, and it is to our interest to place our petitions before Him, for ordinarily He grants His favors in response to prayer. Let the prayer of supplication be addressed to Him now. Let us not wait for fire or flood or tempest or famine or pestilence or earthquake or revolution—which at times He permits for His own wise ends—to drive us back to God, but with sincere repentance for our forgetfulness in more prosperous days, let us humbly crave His pardon and His all-powerful help in our present need.

SCOFFING INTELLIGENTSIA

To an incredulous world all this seems unintelligible; to a world without faith prayer is nothing more than self-delusion. A scoffing intelligentsia looks upon prayer as merely an outworn superstition. Truly, a prayerless world is an object of pity. Its materialistic philosophy is empty and unsatisfying. It solves no problems, it brings no solace to human misery. It stands apart from God.

Our Government, thank God, is not antagonistic to religion. It guarantees to all religious liberty. But is there not a general attitude of indifference to God, an ignorance or an ignoring of the fact that He is the absolute Ruler of our country? Is it an exaggeration to say that too many of our executives, legislators, judges, and other public officials fail to realize the place that God has in our Government, and that they do not advert to their obligation of making Him a partner in the exercise of their office? These same officials cannot recall too frequently that God can enter into no partnership in which there is moral turpitude.

MUST ACCOUNT TO GOD

If our capitalists and our captains of industry were men of prayer, they would recognize that God is their Chief, and that they must account to Him, that He is the absolute Owner and they merely His administrators, and that God's administration must be according to the principles of justice. But they have been trying, for the most part, to get on without God and without prayer. The result we see to

day in the confusion and helplessness of the mighty. Will it require a cataclysm in the economic world to bring them to their senses? Only prayer and the justice that God demands can save the situation.

LEGAL JUSTICE

Our second consideration today is legal, or social, justice, which is the habitual and constant will to give to the community—whether it be the State or the Church—that which is its due. Since man by his very nature is a social being, born into a human society and dependent on that society for his perfection, he has therefore social obligations both to civic society (the State) and to ecclesiastical society (the Church).

Legal justice is that general virtue which obliges every citizen of our country, from the highest to the lowest, to give what is due to the community, whether in the capacity of executive, legislator, judge, or simple citizen. The rich, the poor, the learned, the illiterate, the workers, and the unemployed—all in a certain sense are servants of the community. All are subordinate to the law and all should work for the common good. Legal justice forever holds up to man whatever promotes the greatest interest of the majority. It makes the legislator realize that law must be thought of in terms of the welfare of the majority. It impels our executives to think only of the common interests of our people. Legal justice, in a word, requires all citizens, of whatever station in life, of whatever degree of responsibility, to unite in working for the general welfare of the community or nation.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

In the present crisis it is important that every group and every individual be made to realize the obligations imposed by social justice. The practical application of the principles of justice demands that neither of our great political parties shall seek party advantage at the cost of the general good of the country or community. Executives, judges, all public officials, of whatever political faith, must rise above party considerations to serve the common good. Capitalists and industrialists are in conscience bound to consider what is for the best interests of the majority of our citizens rather than seek advantages for their own par-

ticular group. Trade unions and labor unions must likewise weigh their problems and difficulties in the scales of social justice.

CAPITAL AND LABOR NEED EACH OTHER

Capital and Labor need each other. They must be brought together as never before to work for the common good, recognizing that they sit at the council table as equals in the dignity of human nature. A new understanding must be arrived at; their mutual dependence must be recognized. They have a common product, the result of the union of Capital and Labor. In the language of Pope Pius XI, it is as flagrantly unjust for Capital to seize all the profits as it would be for Labor to seize all the profits—assuming that Labor were in a position to do so. The Capitalism of tomorrow—and there will be no tomorrow unless it is reformed according to moral principles—must be satisfied with a fair return on its investment. It should form a corporation and share its surplus with the laborers who produce it and pay tribute, in the form of taxes, to the State that protects it.

WORKERS SHOULD BE IN UNIONS

While trades unions and labor unions are to be encouraged—and I venture to think that it would be for the good of the country if all workingmen were enrolled in them—their officials and individual members must also realize that social justice obliges them to work for the common interests of the community and country. They must seek no advantage for their unions which would be detrimental to the general welfare. All who have the good of the unions at heart should urge upon them great sanity, a spirit of self-restraint, and a fine sense of social justice in all their constitutions, regulations, and by-laws.

RIGHTS AND JUSTICE

Justice, which gives to every man his due, presupposes some knowledge of the rights of others. Right can be considered as a claim inherent in every individual. Every man has the right to life, to a good name, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness. Right is a moral power to do or to possess something. Might, of course, does not necessarily mean right. Nor is right merely a legal power to act in

compliance with human law; it is that moral power which enables one in the court of conscience and in the court of God to do, to forbear, to have and to exact. Justice is forever insisting that we keep before us the rights of others and that we do not trespass upon these rights. Justice, in its broadest sense, demands that we keep before us the claims that God has on us—the claim of our homage, the claim of a loving Father that we communicate with Him in prayer. Social justice considers the claims that our country has on us, and also the claim that religious society, or the Church, has on us.

ASKS ALL TO UNITE IN PRAYER

If we all unite in God, if every class and every group in the country can be made to appreciate the claims the common welfare of the nation has on us, we shall come out of the present crisis triumphantly. Let us pray earnestly and unceasingly for a return of prosperity—but in God's way and according to His measure. Let us not pray for a prosperity that will alienate us from God, but for a prosperity that will give us the true idea of the dignity of human nature and of the inalienable rights of every individual, and preserve us from that spirit of intolerable despotism which would debase men and trample on their God-given rights in order to amass wealth. God grant that we may come out of our present financial, mental, and moral crisis a chastened people, more dependent upon Divine Providence and more just to our neighbor!

Sacrifice for the Poor

MOST REVEREND JOHN T. McNICHOLAS, O.P., D.D.

A letter to his priests, read in all the churches and chapels of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati during the month of September.

I ASK you to call together a small group of the members of your parish who can best advise us regarding conditions that must be faced during the coming winter.

This is not the time for agitation, nor for mere theorizing, but for sane thinking and prompt but prudent action. All to whom religion is a living thing, and all who love their country and their fellow men and who are able to help in the present crisis, should resolve to do so in the most generous measure possible, even at the cost of personal sacrifice.

It is not merely the question of unemployment that is causing grave concern at the present time, but it is also the state of mind generally prevailing among the people. Everywhere there is a spirit of uneasiness and an undefined but very real fear of what the future holds in store for us. This is seriously testing the morale of our respective communities.

There are two classes in particular that I ask our priests and people to consider during the coming winter:

1. Those who are actually hungry and who lack proper clothing and shelter. In giving help to these, only human brotherhood should be taken into account. There should be no distinction made because of religion, blood, or color.

2. The sick poor who are not receiving the medical attention and the nourishment necessary to restore them to health.

As a matter of fact, no one in this land of plenty should be allowed to go hungry this winter, considering our superabundant harvests and the excess food held in storage. It is unthinkable in the light of Christian principles that the bread lines should be lengthening in our cities, and that many formerly in comfortable circumstances, whose pride forbids them to make known their condition, should be reduced to a state of actual want.

No one will deny that man has the right to breathe the air necessary to life. No one who admits that man has a

right to life will deny that he has a right also, as the fruit of his honest toil, to the things necessary to sustain life. If through no fault of his own he be deprived of the opportunity to labor, he still has the same right not only to life but to the things essential to life that his more prosperous brother has. To provide one in these unfortunate circumstances with that which will keep body and soul together is not conferring a favor on him. It is merely giving him what he has a right to demand.

This is not Socialism. It is merely an application of the laws of nature and of the principles laid down by Christ. For holding to the principle of private property, as Leo XIII affirms: "The earth, even though apportioned amongst private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all."

In the language of Pope Pius XI, we should turn to the "State, which should be the supreme arbiter, ruling in kingly fashion, far above party contention, intent only upon justice and the common good." It is the duty of civil authority to see that none of our people die of starvation, and that the millions who are unemployed shall not go hungry.

In the court of public opinion and in the court of God, the State cannot "abandon to charity alone the full care of relieving the unfortunate, as if it were the task of charity to make amends for the open violation of justice." Just as in the time of war the Government is justified in resorting to emergency measures to meet a crisis, so in our present circumstances civil authority has not only the right but the duty to adopt relief measures. Anything equivalent to the dole system could not but prove destructive to the self-respect of our people and render more complex the grave problem we face. Taxes which would impose a greater burden on the poor and laboring classes should not be considered; but a conscription of excess wealth would be wholly in harmony with the principles of Christian social justice. One of the crimes of our country is that concentration of wealth which makes it possible for any individual to be cursed with a yearly income of one or several million dollars.

Whatever the Government may do in the exercise of its duty, or whatever the very rich may be prompted to do through a sense of justice, I sincerely hope that every Catholic family and individual in the archdiocese will not only give them their superfluous income, but that in their charity

they will make real sacrifices to alleviate in their respective communities the sufferings of the two classes, especially, that we have designated. No man has a right to say: "I will give or I will withhold, just as I please, my contributions to the needy from my abundance or superabundance!" Some, even much, of that superabundance belongs to the poor.

We direct that this letter be read at all Masses in all the churches and chapels of the archdiocese on one of the Sundays of September.

Disarmament

M. SIDNEY PARRY

A Paper on the need of reaffirming the Law of Nations. Reprinted in part from Blackfriars, September, 1931.

ONE of the great questions of the day is disarmament, linked almost involuntarily though not of necessity with war debts and reparations. Appeals have been made for the nation to have the will to peace, and thus save the world from disaster. The ten-years-long discussions on disarmament have produced so far no very definite results. Nations still believe that without security no disarmament is possible. A pact to renounce war as a means of settling international disputes has been signed by all the leading nations of the world, and yet armaments increase, and preparations for a fresh war are being made, until today more money is being expended upon such preparations, and upon armaments, than was expended before 1914, when the storm broke over Europe and the world. Nations cry peace, when there is no peace in their hearts, as was frankly stated by the present Pope in his Encyclical of 1922.

Why is there no peace? Because jealousies, greed, fear and hatred are still in men's minds, says the Pope. They have forgotten the moral laws that guide individuals and are equally applicable to nations. All the more need is there for a reaffirmation of the Law of Nations. Up to the Middle Ages men respected the Canon Law of the Church: they looked to the See of Peter as the exponent of the Moral

Law, codified as it is on the Canon Law of the Church. That Law of Nations, which is, in itself, the embodiment of the Natural Law, implanted in men's minds by the Creator, is a guide to men's lives in their private dealings. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor. Do not to others what ye would not that they should do unto you. All these are the commonplaces of our daily life, and are the guiding principles on which we act, and if we depart from them we receive just punishment at the hand of our neighbors. It is these laws which form the basis of the Canon Law of the Christian Church. Mankind has turned away from the Canon Law, and looks to International Law as a guide. International Law is too often but a collection of treaties, secret agreements, and requires much time to define: one treaty depending on another, many of them ephemeral, all made for *ad hoc* purposes with no relation to the Moral Law.

THE NEED FOR A MORAL FORCE

True it is that we have the Hague Tribunal, to which the interpretation of National Treaties and Agreements can be referred; but though the rules of the Hague Tribunal contain many of the principles laid down by the great Dutchman Grotius, the last codifier of *Lex Naturalis* and *Jus Gentium*, it is, nevertheless, a judicial body pronouncing judgments and interpreting specific acts irrespective of the justice of such acts. The need for a spiritual and moral force to help mankind in its international relations was expressed by Sir Thomas Barclay, an eminent international lawyer, in 1915:

The world needs some great spiritual force to guide and uphold it amid the ambitions of statesmen, to protect men against their own cruel and rapacious instincts, and to set a higher tone of human sympathy and fraternity among men generally.

Likewise a prominent dignitary of the Church of England expressed the same ideal when, in 1917, speaking on The Churches and Peace, he said:

Though the rest of Christendom may not recognize the Pope as Universal Head of the Church, yet many, perhaps most Christians would be willing to see in him the most distinguished Representative of the Spiritual Forces of the World, and it may be given to the Papacy in this way to wield—even amongst those that are separated from it—a world-wide spiritual force.

These two distinguished men were, perhaps all unknown to themselves, following in the footsteps of that forceful figure of the end of the nineteenth century—namely, David Urquhart, some while M.P. for Strafford, who, Protestant as he was, appealed to the Papacy, during the sitting of the Ecumenical Council in 1869, to reaffirm that portion of the Canon Law—the Law of Nations, the real International Law—which deals with war and the making of peace. Some of the passages in that appeal are of such poignant interest to-day that it seems necessary to make one or two quotations:

The condition of the world has become insupportable on account of the enormous standing armies. Every country is burdened by the cost of them. Thus the means of the poor are diminished, trade is paralysed, the consciences of men are perverted or outraged, and souls are lost every day.

The Church alone can find a remedy for these miseries. Even should her voice not be obeyed by all, it will always be a guide to millions of men. Above all, the assertion of eternal principles is always in itself a homage to God, and cannot be without fruit.

There are grave and serious men, versed in public affairs, who look upon the position of the world and of the Church in reference to these truths in the same light as do men devoted to religion. All these are equally convinced that it is necessary to declare that part of the Canon Law which deals with the Law of Nations, and with the character of war, and defines how it becomes either a duty or a crime. Such a restoration of conscience in men would dispel those dangers by which society is threatened, a result which can never be achieved by mere worldly prudence and political calculations.

David Urquhart, Protestant as he was, turned to the Papacy as the centre of light, of law and of respect. To him it was anathema that the principles of religion should have nothing to do with the State. He held that Christianity is a spiritual force which can appeal to all, and that it must penetrate the region of politics, and be introduced into the practical affairs of life.

The Ecumenical Council was, unfortunately, adjourned owing to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, before the appeal was considered. To some extent Urquhart succeeded in that the Postulatum is on record in the Appendix to the Acts and Decrees of the Council. Urquhart was granted an audience by Pius IX, who gave him the greatest encouragement, "God has inspired you with very great ideas on the greatest of subjects. I have read your appeal, and I approve it all. Now the first stone is laid."

Nowadays the study of the Law of Nations is best made from its codification by Hugo Grotius, a Protestant Dutchman, who in 1625 drew up a Code of Law, collected from the Canon Law of the Church. This he presented to the Catholic King of France. Today we look to the League of Nations to settle international concerns; but, as has already been said, the League has no authority to which it can refer its difficulties except the Hague Tribunal. There is always the danger latent in all Leagues that a strong nation or nations might get the power into its own hands, and, leading others in their train, might become really supreme. Surely the safety lies in the public recognition of the Law of Nations which, based as it is on moral laws, should govern the relations of State to State.

So far the advice tendered by the Seat of Law of Light and Respect has met with little success. There are signs that nations are beginning to recognize that the present economic depression of the world might have been at least minimized, if not avoided, had they followed *in toto* the advice tendered them by Benedict XV in his Peace Note of August, 1917:

Disarmament—The first and fundamental point should be that the moral force of right should replace the material force of arms: hence a just agreement between all for the simultaneous and reciprocal diminution of armaments according to rules and guarantees to be established, to the extent necessary and sufficient for the maintenance of public order in each State; in the place of armies, the establishment of arbitration on lines to be concerted and with sanctions to be settled against any State that should refuse either to submit international questions to arbitration or to accept its awards.

It is, indeed, true that there is an International Treaty which pledges nations to refer all matters in dispute to the Hague Tribunal, and that there is the Kellogg Pact renouncing war—that is, the substitution of moral right for the force of arms. Nevertheless, that disarmament which Benedict XV put forward as a necessity for real peace is non-existent. Discussions still go on as to how far it is safe to disarm. Security is demanded as a pledge for disarmament. All these discussions are judicial quibblings over clauses in the professed disarmament convention, based on the supposition that war will some day break out, rather than on the belief that war is impossible if nations adhere to their pledges.

Amidst all these discussions the moral law has been absolutely forgotten—namely, the pledge given to the vanquished that armaments will be reduced to the basis suggested by Benedict XV—that is, “to the extent necessary and sufficient for the maintenance of public order in each State.” Such an obligation was imposed on the vanquished, and surely, with the pledge given, it is the first duty of the Allies to carry that pledge into effect. The failure to do so is at bottom the cause of the present unrest in Germany; and at the same time part of the cause of the present economic depression in Europe, for are we not told that more money is being spent on armaments now than was spent previous to 1914. It appears astonishing that those who speak in favor of disarmament, and deny the possibility of uni-lateral disarmament, do not sufficiently stress the fact that the pledge to disarm was given and has not been fulfilled.